

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----086969 231720Z /43

O R 231600Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7364  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USNATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECSTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 7329

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR  
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL RELATIONS: GOG DISCUSSIONS WITH KYPRIANOU

REF: ATHENS 7280

1. THE AMBASSADOR CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER RALLIS YESTERDAY EVENING AUGUST 22, TO GET A READOUT ON THE CONVERSATIONS PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU HAD WITH THE GOG DURING HIS VISIT HERE. MFA DIRECTOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS TZOUNIS AND BARBIS WERE ALSO PRESENT.

2. ALTHOUGH RALLIS DID NOT GO INTO ANY GREAT DETAIL ABOUT THE DISCUSSIONS KYPRIANOU HAD WITH PRIME MINISTER KARAMANLIS, WE GATHERED FROM WHAT HE SAID THAT THE GREEKS HAD BEEN PRETTY STERN WITH THE CYPRIOT PRESEDENT. IT IS CLEAR, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE GOG DOES NOT THINK IT IS A GOOD IDEA

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FOR THE GOC TO TAKE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND APPARENTLY TOLD KYPRIANOU SO.  
(COMMENT: THIS MAY ACCOUNT FOR THE FACT KYPRIANOU DID NOT MENTION THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN HIS ARRIVAL REMARKS WHEN HE RETURNED TO CYPRUS - NICOSIA 2143 NOTAL.)  
HOWEVER, RALLIS AND TZOUNIS ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO KEEP THE GOC FROM GOING TO THE

SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY MOVEMENT ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM BETWEEN NOW AND THE OPENING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THE PRIME MINISTER, RALLIS SAID, HAD TOLD KYPRIANOU THE DAY BEFORE (AND RALLIS ADDED HE HAD MADE THE SAME POINT) THAT RECOURSE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL WAS NOT A GOOD IDEA. HOWEVER, RALLIS ASKED "WHAT CAN WE DO?" IF THERE IS NO MOVEMENT. EVEN IF KYPRIANOU DID NOT WANT TO GO TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, PUBLIC OPINION PRESSURES WOULD FORCE HIM TO DO SO IF NOTHING WAS HAPPENING ON THE NEGOTIATION TRACK.

3. KARAMANLIS HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO KYPRIANOU, ACCORDING TO RALLIS, THAT THE GOC AND NOT THE GOG HAD TO MAKE THE POLICY DECISIONS ABOUT CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. THE GOG WOULD LEND ITS MORAL AND POLITICAL SUPPORT BUT WOULD NOT TAKE ON THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAKING DECISIONS OR DICTATE WHAT POLICY THE GOC SHOULD FOLLOW. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WOULD OFFER ITS ADVICE, AND RALLIS AND TZOUNIS ACKNOWLEDGED THIS CARRIED WEIGHT WITH THE GOC, ESPECIALLY IF IT WAS REASONABLE ADVICE. HOWEVER, GOG ADVICE WOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE DECISIVE NOR COULD THE GOG TRY TO IMPOSE ITS WILL WITHOUT RUNNING THE RISK OF BEING ACCUSED OF INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE ISLAND. ON OCCASION THERE WOULD BE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND THE GREEKS HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO THE CYPRIOT PRESIDENT, RALLIS COMMENTED, THAT THEY WOULD SPEAK UP WHEN THIS WAS THE CASE. (THE RECENT VAROSHA  
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PROPOSALS WERE CITED AS AN EXAMPLE OF THIS WITH KYPRIANOU HAVING SUBMITTED, APPARENTLY WITH SOME RESISTANCE AND RELUCTANCE, THE THE VIEWS OF ATHENS IN MAKING A COUNTER-PROPOSAL.)

4. THE AMBASSADOR MENTIONED THAT COUNSELOR NIMETZ WOULD BE GOING TO CYPRUS SEPTEMBER 4-5 (WHICH WAS NOT NEWS TO RALLIS AND TZOUNIS). HE EXPLAINED THE TRIP WOULD BE CONFINED TO CYPRUS AND THAT ITS PURPOSE WAS NOT TO INTRODUCE US PROPOSALS BUT TO REVIEW WITH THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED WHERE MATTERS STAND. RALLIS COMMENTED THAT IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO ALSO VISIT ANKARA. (IN A SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION, TZOUNIS ELABORATED TO BARBIS THAT FOR THE SAKE OF IMPRESSIONS AND TO AVOID SPECULATION THE PURPOSE OF THE TRIP WAS TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE CUPRIOTS IT WOULD LOOK BETTER HERE IF NIMETZ ALSO STOPPED IN ANKARA. WE NOTED THAT WE DID NOT KNOW FOR SURE THAT ANKARA WAS NOT ON THE ITINERARY BUT POINTED OUT THAT TURKISH MFA SECRETARY GENERAL ELEKDAG HAD BEEN IN WASHINGTON DURING THE PAST TWO WEEKS AND HAD MET WITH NIMETZ THERE FOR DETAILED DISCUSSIONS.)

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-----087154 231738Z /42

O R 231600Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
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EXDIS

5. RALLIS SAID THERE HAD TO BE IMPROVEMENT IN THE TURKISH PROPOSALS ON VAROSHA AND IMPORED US TO "HELP IMPROVE" THEM. AS THEY NOW STOOD THE PROPOSALS WERE UNACCEPTABLE AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. KYPRIANOU HAD MADE THIS CLEAR. RALLIS ASKED WHETHER NIMETZ WOULD BE PRESENTING ANY IDEAS IN THIS RESPECT. SOMETHING WAS NEEDED TO BREAK THE PRESENT STALEMATE. IF DISCUSSION ON VAROSHA COULD BE INITIATED, IT MIGHT PROVE THE VEHICLE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF FULL INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS.

6. TZOUNIS THEN OUTLINED SOME THOUGHTS HE HAD MADE PREVIOUSLY TO BARBIS CONCERNING THE UNSYG'S ROLE. THE GOG BELIEVES WALDHEIM'S MANDATE FOR "GOOD OFFICES" SHOULD BE REINFORCED TO ONE OF TRUE MEDIATION. TZOUNIS ASSENTED TO THE AMBASSADOR'S INTERPRETATION THAT IN THIS WAY THE SYG WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO INTRODUCE PROPOSALS "DEVELOPED" BY OTHERS. IN THE GOG'S VIEW THIS MIGHT BE  
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ACCOMPLISHED AS A PRACTICAL MATTER IF WALDHEIM WERE

ASSURED BY THE US, THE FRG AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES THAT HE HAD THEIR SUPPORT. IT WOULD THEN BE EASIER, AND LESS CONTROVERSIAL HERE, FOR THE US TO BE MORE ACTIVELY INVOLVED, WORKING THROUGH WALDHEIM INCLUDING ADVANCING IDEAS AND PROPOSALS.

7. COMMENT: WE TOLD TZOUNIS THAT WE HAVE REPEATEDLY MADE OUR SUPPORT FOR HIM KNOWN TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND DID NOT INTEND OUR EFFORTS, ALONE OR WITH OTHERS, TO SUBSTITUTE FOR HIM. WE PROMISED, NONETHELESS, TO PASS ON THE GOG'S VIEWS IN THIS RESPECT TO THE DEPARTMENT. (WE WOULD APPRECIATE USUN'S AND THE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON THIS GREEK PROPOSAL FOR ENHANCING FURTHER THE UNSYG'S MANDATE WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS.)  
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## Message Attributes

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